1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
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856 their children as do their older brothers or sisters. They hardly teach or help the child in its attempts to walk; for instance, if a child trying to walk falls down, the mother is not supposed to show much anxiety for her child's discomfiture; she simply has to say: 'You will grow up and have more of it', but only after spitting on the ground to ward off the effect of the evil spirits. There is no baby talk, and when the child starts to babble, grown-ups usually tease him by examining his capacity to repeat difficult words, but no deliberate teaching takes place.

[188] [195]

854 As to the sleeping posture of infants, there is hardly any stylized way, as the infant is left to sleep on his mother's lap, on another person's lap, or on the ground, without any scheduling or worry about its sleeping hours.[1] Mothers are seen carrying their sleeping infants, either vertically or horizontally, on going from one place to another. On the whole, the sleeping habits of children in Silwa are very similar to those of other peasant societies, where they learn to sleep anywhere and through anything.[1] 513 Older children and adults can be seen asleep outside the house during the day or the night in seemingly uncomfortable positions or places.

[1] Margaret Mead, 'The Primitive Child', in Murchison, *Handbook of Child Psychology*, Worcester, Mass., 1931, p. 677.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
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* 857 538 [519]

not accept as one of the commendable spheres of indulgence in a pious life.[1] While mothers may occasionally tell their children a story at night, fathers could never be expected to do it, as it might encourage that intimacy and levity towards them which is incompatible with the ideal of paternal respect. Story-hearing and telling is a feature of the child and adolescent groups. The writer has not found literate people in Silwa entertaining the reading of novels in the modern sense, as they are regarded 'unreal' and of no immediate value.[2] Children and adolescents must be weaned away as quickly as possible from such imaginative frivolities like story-telling, and acquire the didactic literature of proverbs and wise sayings that enable the boy to cope with the realistic and matter-of-fact affairs of life. The accumulated wisdom of the past, the adults think, is contained in these proverbs and the reported deeds and acts of men of religious or social prestige. They are inordinately fond of quoting proverbs and maxims whenever an occasion for them arises. Rattray has observed the African's predilection for proverbs in his speech: much the same might be said for Silwa. He states that the best retort 'for any new-fangled suggestion or argument, however convincing, is to quote some proverb, however banal and inept, for such a reply is invested with all the force and sanctity of immemorial usage, and therefore conclusive'.[3]

Story-telling also includes the interesting events that happened in the village, or that happened to children. It is a more preferable pastime in winter than in summer, when boys, and occasionally girls, gather at a cosy corner outside the house 'to curtail the long winter nights' as one of the boys put it. On the whole, one can say that a child, on the average, spends an hour a week in these story-telling sessions. But this does not mean that all children take part in these sessions, or know fairy tales and stories. In fact, quite a few children, of both sexes, whom I asked in the compulsory school and in the neighbourhood, knew no stories of any kind. If parents tolerate these story-telling sessions, they do not consider them of any educative value at all.

Children, however, listen to stories and tell them to each other, not in the house or in the presence of the father, but usually outside the house. They will stop their narration on the approach of an adult, and consequently the writer was not able to listen to or observe any of their normal sessions. These sessions are seldom held during the day, as the boys believe that story-telling in daylight brings wrath, like sleeping in the late afternoon (nawmat al asr). Here one sees the functional relationship between children's leisure and their economic responsibilities. Through such beliefs, with their concomitant emotional effects, the scope for flouting responsibility for work is delimited in a roundabout way. Like play, the community

● [513]

[1] See Chapter VII for the connection of 'labw' and play.

[2] There are no novels at all amongst the books that the villagers possess.

[3] R. S. Rattray, 'The African Child in Proverb, Folklore and Fact', in *Africa*, Vol. VI, 1933, p. 426. For some of the proverbs collected in the village, see Appendix VI.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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SUPERSTITIONS

It is a common belief in Egypt, as, indeed, in some other countries also, that the soul can leave the body during sleep. It is therefore considered unsafe to wake anyone suddenly, for fear the soul should not have time to return to the body of the sleeper. Such awakening must be done very slowly, so as to give the soul ample time to return. I am not quite clear as to what happens if the soul does not get back in time; probably the sleeper's personality changes, or he becomes imbecile.

There is a strong belief among the peasants that the dead can appear to the living, speak with them, and issue commands. The strength of this belief can be seen in connexion with the sheikh cult, discussed in Chapter XV. There are a number of ghost stories current in the country, the ghost being usually regarded as the dead man's *'afrīt*, which, as will be seen in the following chapter, is not the soul, but a separate entity. The two following ghost stories may interest my readers, the second ghost having only just begun to 'walk' a week or so before I arrived at the dead man's village.

The engine which controls the machinery for irrigating the fields of the rich *'omdeh* (headman) of a certain village is worked by steam, and the boiler is covered with a large sheet of iron. The steam is shut off late every evening, at about seven-thirty, and is turned on again at daybreak. To turn it on a man has to stand on the sheet of iron above the reservoir. One day the son of the assistant engineer made a mistake, saying that he had turned on the steam when he had not done so. The consequence was that more was generated than the boiler could contain, and it promptly exploded. An unfortunate man who was standing on the iron sheet was crushed against the ceiling and killed instantly. One night later a man who was sleeping in the engine-room with some of his fellow-workmen began to call out. His companions were aroused from sleep by his cries, and asked him what was the matter. He told them that he had seen the man who had been killed, and that he was wailing and crying *"Akh! akh! akh!"* ("Alas! alas! alas!"), and also had tried to poke out his (the speaker's) eyes with two of his fingers. Since this incident a great explosion is heard in the engine-room every night at twelve o'clock. The first time it was heard the guards and other people thought that there had been another accident, but, when they went to look, nothing had occurred, and the engine was not working. The

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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asked him where he had been, to which he replied, "I have been among the *'afārīt*."

Since that day he has been perfectly sane, and is now living happily in his native village.

The following is another case related to me in 1923, the incident occurring, so I was told, in 1920. In a town in Upper Egypt there dwells a somewhat celebrated Coptic magician, whom we will call the Sheikh B. He is known to be married to an *'afrīteh*, because he disappears every night, but neither his wife nor her children—for the people have discovered that she has offspring by the sheikh—are ever seen. They may come up above ground sometimes while people are talking about them, but they remain invisible.

The upper story of a certain house in this town was occupied by a Coptic clerk employed in a large business firm, while in the lower story lived a man whose wife had no children. The husband of this woman, distressed at having no offspring, begged the Sheikh B to come and see his wife, hoping that he might be able to give her some charm or read some incantation which would cure her barrenness. Accordingly, one evening, at a late hour, the magician arrived.

The occupant of the upper story was in the habit of praying every night and morning. On the evening on which the Sheikh B arrived this man was reciting some of the Psalms of David in a loud voice. On hearing these recitations the Sheikh B cried out, "Oh, make this man stop reading, for he is interrupting me!" Some of the people who had assembled to see the sheikh went up to beg the man to stop reciting. However, he paid no attention to their request, and read through all the Psalms, repeating them in a loud voice, so that they could easily be heard in the rooms beneath him.

The Sheikh B then cried out to him, "Oh, stop reciting these Psalms, you have burnt one of my sons"; for the sheikh had brought up many *'afārīt* from under the earth, including his own sons, so that he might consult them as to what should be done for the childless woman.

Finally the clerk went to bed; but as soon as he had laid himself down he felt that there were people in the room, and suddenly found himself being lifted off the bed. He opened his eyes, and saw four small *'afārīt*, dressed in quaint coats and trousers of many

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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colours, and wearing tall, peaked hats. Two of them held him by the feet, and two held his head. He immediately crossed himself, and said, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." At the mention of these sacred names the *'afārīt* dropped him on the floor and disappeared.

FIG. 136. A COPTIC CHOIR-BOY

I was told that the Sheikh B's anger was aroused because the man, by his recitation of the Psalms, had stopped his communications with the *'afārīt*; and so, in order to punish him, he sent the four *'afārīt* to frighten him. Since that date the Sheikh B has refused to enter that house.

The following story tells how a naughty boy was punished by an *'afrīt*. It should be explained here that it is the custom among the Copts for men and boys to gather together every evening during the month of *Kiyahk*, which begins on December 9 or 10, to recite from memory special prayers and passages from the Bible in Coptic. Thus engaged they remain in the church till daybreak, when the priest comes for the service. Coptic boys acquire a smattering of the ancient language when at the school of the *'arīf*, the title of the officiant who leads the singing in the church.

On one such occasion the boy just alluded to was in the church with a number of his companions, taking part in the recitations. He left the church for a few minutes, and on his way back saw a very fine donkey standing in the open space in front of the church. The sight of this donkey proving to be irresistible to him, he immediately mounted it, and, digging his heels into its sides, urged it to go faster and faster round and round the open space. Suddenly the donkey began to grow taller and taller, till it reached the height of about five metres It then suddenly vanished, and the

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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years of age, who used to be a village guard. He told a friend of mine that he knew that the ground on which the *'omdeh's* engine now stands used to be the haunt of *'afārīt*, for, when doing patrols at night round the outskirts of the village, he had sometimes seen on that spot a plough pulled by oxen and driven by a man, or sometimes a threshing-machine with the oxen and their driver, all made of fire. As this guard approached them he would cross himself, whereupon the *'afārīt* who had assumed these forms would disappear.

If a woman fears that *'afārīt* are in her house she puts a *kulleh* of water on the floor of one of the rooms, and near it she places some bread and salt, leaving them in this position during the night. This protects the whole house, and effectually prevents any *'afārīt* from entering it.

Nightmare and sleepwalking are supposed to be caused by *'afārīt*, and if a child suffers from either of these complaints it is a sign that an *'afrīt* has entered its body. This may have happened because the child has done something wrong; perhaps, so it was suggested to me, it had plucked some of the ears of corn from a field belonging to a neighbour. If a Coptic child sleepwalks or has nightmare its parents call in a priest, who tells them to bring seven *kanādīl* (old-fashioned saucer-lamps, with floating wicks). The priest then asks for a jar of water, and prays seven special prayers, burning incense meanwhile in a censer. As he finishes one prayer he puts out one lamp, after a second prayer a second lamp, and so on, till all the prayers are said and all the lamps extinguished. He now tells the parents to place the jar of water on the roof of the house, where it must remain for one night. On the following morning the child is bathed in the water, after which, it is believed, he will be cured.

Among the Muslims if a child is affected in this way the parents go to a magician, who writes a charm of protection for the child to wear.

In addition to his soul (*rūḥ*) every human being is believed to possess an *'afrīt* which leaves his body at death. In certain circumstances it may be a menace to any person who comes near it. Animals also have an *'afrīt*. This belief especially attracted my attention recently. A little dog which had been badly injured took refuge in the bathroom of my house. My servant told me that he was sure it could not live, and that, before it died, he must

(3) *Health and Sickness*

291 The fellah's clothes are no more of a barrier against the elements than his work. They cut him off from neither air nor sun, earth nor water. This absorption into his environment gives him abundance of physical life. His robust 142 and hardy constitution is in harmony with nature. For 513 sleep he needs no mattress, no comfort. He bears the most 151 brutal incisions without a cry. Colds, headaches and the foulest odours trouble him not at all. His appetite never fails, and his extremely sensitive hearing catches the slightest sound, human or other.

164 Very often, unfortunately, Nature turns treacherously upon him and infects his unsuspecting body with diseases which fatten and undermine him. These are endemic diseases which are rooted in the peasant class. Let us say nothing of tuberculosis or hereditary syphilis, which are the fellah's constant companions. Far more dangerous are bilharzia, ankylostomiasis (hookworm) and malaria, which in some *mudiriyas* affect more than 80% of the population. [515] These arise from lack of cleanliness, and too close a contact between man and the soil.

But the most noticeable are the eye-diseases. Though the greenness of the fields is restful to the sight, the heat and glare of the sun and still more the thick dust which no rain ever lays, the sandy wind from the hardby desert, the dung, the flies, and dirty fingers all combine from childhood to inflame and infect the eyes, if not to blind them. It is impossible to pass through a village without being struck by the number of blind and one-eyed people going about. According to statistics they amount to 60% of the population. In 1927 it was officially recorded that there were 266,550 one-eyed people and 110,000 completely blind. In 1937 the provinces of Minia and Assiut were credited with 50,000 either one-eyed or blind. In actual fact there are more than that. There is no counting the bleary or bloodshot looks, the eyes dimmed by glaucoma or trachoma.

Another scourge is *bilharzia*(**). This is a form of haematuria caused by a parasite which is absorbed into the system through the skin. The fellaheen make their ritual ablutions [515 daily, often side by side, in any sort of water, and work bare- 744] foot on the damp earth or in the mud of the drains. The larva of this parasite, which is peculiar to Egypt, grows

that creeps up from the soil from undermining the building.
The walls have few apertures, partly, again, to ensure stability, but also to protect the interior from heat and glare by day, and against the cold and dangers of the night. The doorway, which is about six feet high and three wide, is separated from the street by a shallow threshold. One or two tiny loopholes above eye level, measuring about twelve inches by eight, are the only other openings to the outside; and even these are stuffed up in winter.

This limitation of window space is due partly to the high price of wood. Egypt, lying in the sparsely wooded zone of tropical desert which stretches from India to the Sudan, is poorly supplied with wood. The date palms, sycamores, and acacias that give shade to the villages are too precious to be cut down for beams, and would in any case be insufficient to provide all the doors and windows that proper hygiene would necessitate. The trunks of date palms are certainly used, but very sparingly, since such trees bring their owners P.T. 100 a year in fruit, branches and fibre. Imported wood (from Finland, Sweden, Rumania and the U.S.S.R.), though commonly used in the towns, is beyond the normal means of the fellah. The result is that the doorway very often contains no door, and the loopholes are almost always without either glass or woodwork.

Though wood is dispensed with as far as possible, for the roof it is essential. In Upper Egypt, where it never rains, some houses remain roofless; but this is exceptional, and as a rule the four walls are at least covered with foliage. Ill-squared beams, set two feet apart, serve as a support for the interwoven stalks of maize, cotton, or reeds, together with palm branches. To prevent this construction from rotting, it is covered with rough mats and plastered with a thick layer of mud-and-cinder. This makes a terrace, which is proof against showers and solid enough in summer to support a roof-hut and the sleeping bodies of all the members of the household. The roof can be reached from outside by a wooden ladder or brick staircase; constant access is needed to the place where tools, grain reserves, fuel, and sometimes even poultry are kept.

The necessary habit of keeping dry brushwood and straw on the roof is a frequent cause of fire, which, by reason of the closeness of the houses, soon spreads to the neighbourhood

I go visiting my parishioners", says Mgr Khouzam, Bishop of Thebes, "I find few houses with doors. They have square holes for entrances, and these are the only openings. The sole furniture is an oven for bread, a jar of water, a cooking pot and a bowl. In a few houses there is a cord stretched across a corner from wall to wall. This is the wardrobe, where spare clothes are hung. The roof is so low as to be oppressive".

Fortunately, houses normally have two, if not three, rooms. (*) Apart from slight variations in plan, size and arrangement, these usually comprise:

1. A hall (*mandara*). Against the right-hand wall is built a long raised seat (*mastaba*). As the outside door opens into it, this is the best-lighted room in the house. It is used for visitors and guests.

2. Opening into this is the combined sleeping-room and kitchen. In a corner is the oven, built of bricks and set against the wall. Its flat top forms a kind of bed, on which two people sleep in winter. There is no chimney. The smoke escapes by the loophole in the wall.

3. Further in still is a little yard (*zariba*) about six foot wide and partly covered with maize thatch. This serves as a stable for the *gamoosa* and the donkey, but can be approached only through the front door.

The distinction is not very rigid, and there is nothing to prevent the sitting-room from serving as a stable, or the yard as summer sleeping-quarters. The fowls live everywhere; the pigeons nest in niches in the outer wall, or in petrol tins piled together. In villages where there is a Coptic majority, the pigs must also be taken into account; the Christian fellaheen rear these, not for themselves, but for European pork-butchers. As often as not, we must add that friend of the fellah and guardian of his goods, his shaggy night-howling dog.

The floor of the house is of beaten earth. The furniture is heaped up in disorder in the corners. For meals there is a Primus stove, one or two copper cooking-pots, and a low round table of white wood about three feet wide and eighteen inches high. For sleeping there are straw mats, a few cotton coverlets, or perhaps only a big sack. Sometimes there are beds constructed of palm branches (in the same way as chicken coops) and perhaps a cotton-stuffed mattress. For household

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
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CHAPTER III.

WORKING DAYS AND HOLIDAYS, DAYS OF JUBILEE AND DAYS OF MOURNING.

WORKING-DAY LIFE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE.

In Upper Egypt the life of the ordinary inhabitant of the towns is passed in a simple and uniform manner. Before sunrise he leaves his couch, performs the morning ablutions enjoined by his religion, and repeats his early prayer. To say his morning prayer after sunrise is forbidden by the ordinances of his religion, and to allow the sun to rise above one's slumbering head is universally regarded as prejudicial to health. He then drinks his cup of coffee and smokes his pipe, either at home or in the public coffee-house. His breakfast, which he takes after his coffee (though sometimes before it), consists of the remains of his meal of the previous evening, or of cakes and milk, or for a trifle he procures from the market the ever ready national dish of *ful*, that is, stewed beans. He then engages in his vocations, buys, sells, writes, works, or moves about, all in the most comfortable, quiet, and deliberate manner. "What is not done to-day may be to-morrow"—in good Arabic, *bukra in shah Allah* (to-morrow if God please)—stands written on his forehead in large letters. The most urgent affairs leave always a quarter of an hour free in which to gossip with acquaintances over coffee and a pipe, be it in retail-shop, workshop, or office. And if many acquaintances turn up the more numerous grow these quarters-of-an-hour. Now and again he has no work, or no desire to do it, and then he drags himself from one friend to the other. Bread for himself and his family will no doubt turn up; *rebinna kerim*—"the Lord is gracious (or liberal);" it is but little he requires, and in case of necessity his soft-hearted neighbour will not allow him to go supperless to bed. Even before the mid-day call of the muezzin from the minaret, he

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[pp. 1-157 not processed]

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has made his preparations for the hour of prayer, and after the performance of his devotions he returns home and enjoys his simple dinner. This consists for the most part only of bread with fruits or with white country cheese, milk, salt fish, or molasses (the so-called black honey).

He takes care not to make his mid-day sleep too short, especially in the long warm days of summer, and he lies down in his house or in his shop, in the café, or in any shady spot in the open air; at this time the streets and markets become deserted. Not till well through the afternoon does he again move, when he begins the second portion of the day as he did the first, with ablutions, prayers, and coffee, afterwards bestirring himself with some energy to make up during the remainder of the day for the time he has dreamed and trifled away. For this remainder is but short, and with the last rays of the setting sun the call from the minaret is again heard, the trader shuts his shop, the workman flings by his tool, the scholar, the writer, and the man of learning shut their books. This dawdling habit, which, in the province, at least, is the rule, is not, however, solely the result of indolence, but arises more from the fact that little trade or industry exists, and the want of a regular weekly day of rest is also not without blame. The natives when necessary often display the greatest ardour and even steady perseverance.

The cultivation of the fields allows the countryman less leisure for the *dolce far niente*, but even he does not overwork himself. From the mellowness and fertility of the soil his labour is light enough when compared with that of a northern peasant, and chiefly consists in the artificial watering of the land, effected mostly by the labour of young people or of cattle. When he can the countryman also takes his hours of idleness, and sleeps, and gossips, and sings. He too is never in a hurry. This slowness of action, intimately connected as it is with fatalism, is as intolerable to a European who is in haste, as it is beneficial to one who wishes to rest a little from the hurry and scurry of the West.

After his evening devotions the dweller in the town moves

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512 562 groan and languish under the burden of their daily labours, yet they do not, as the common descriptions of harem life lead us to believe, recline the live-long day on the soft divan enjoying the *dolce far niente*, adorned with gold and jewels, smoking, and supporting upon the yielding pillow those arms that indolence makes so plump, while the eunuchs and female slaves stand before them watching their every sign, and anxious to spare them the slightest movement. Such slothful dames may indeed be found here and there in the harems of the great, but are not confined to this country. People fall again and again into the mistake of comparing the life of the women of our middle ranks with that of those that occupy the harems of the great! The care of house and family lies much more heavily upon the women here, and there is enough to attend to even if, being assisted by female slaves, as is the case in the higher ranks, they have not to put to their hands themselves, and confine themselves only to giving orders. Cooking, baking, sewing, embroidering, washing, and scouring must be carried on, and children must be attended to here as well as elsewhere—there is no reading nor pianoforte playing, however.

[513] Before sunrise women and children are already awake and moving, many indeed under cover of the dark gray dawn pro-
515 ceed to the river to bathe and wash themselves. The toilette,
[512] however, is not usually the first thing that demands attention; the kitchen must first be attended to in order to let the husband away to his occupation. A complete toilette including combing and plaiting of the hair is not in many cases indulged in every day even among ladies of the better class. In this way time and trouble are spared, but a certain class of vermin are left almost unmolested, and establish themselves often so firmly among the black locks of the Eastern beauties that they cannot be extirpated notwithstanding the raids that are made upon them from time to time—even with the application of gray mercurial ointment. As a rule the toilette is associated with a bath, to which praiseworthy enjoyment high and
[368] low are attached, whether it be taken in the public bathing establishment, in the river, the sea, or at home by means of

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
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a shallow tub, and by pouring warm water over the body and scrubbing it with soap and date bast. In the public baths certain hours or days are set apart for the fair sex, and here many women spend half days bathing, adorning themselves, smoking, and gossiping. At these times no male, not even a eunuch would dare to set foot in the apartments.

In other respects also the women are by no means robbed of social pleasures. They visit each other often enough, if possible early in the morning, and are wont to remain half a day, a whole day, or even several days, though both parties may be in the same town. They smoke, drink coffee (the latter being less in use among the women than among the men—the opposite to what holds good among the Franks), gossip, show their ornaments and finery, tell stories and wonderful tales, sew, embroider (but do not knit), sing and dance, or better, make some one sing and dance before them (since a well-conducted lady ought neither to be seen nor heard, and therefore should not sing), laugh and make merry —in short the harem so greatly pitied elsewhere enjoy life, but on the sole condition, that no man be present! They are less often allowed to take a walk in the open air; some—and this is considered a great virtue—never leave the house after their marriage. Their lady friends come to visit them instead, and as almost every house in these regions has its court-yard or a terrace, women are by no means kept out of the open air. Moslim women are generally excused from the burdensome prayers of the men, and pious or even hypocritical women are in the Moslim female world a great rarity; indeed they scarcely know the most important doctrines of their religion. Piety in them is even looked upon with dislike.

At mid-day the husband always eats alone, or with his boys or guests. Immediately afterwards, however, the wife again comes into honour since her lord likes to enjoy his siesta in the chambers of the harem. After sunset no respectable woman must show herself outside the house, even though veiled and attended, and now, or some hours later, the husband